The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace.

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong.

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access.

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly.

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of

[Text continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

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Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

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In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

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Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

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9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke.

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence.

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone.

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included.

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts.

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary [369] occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical [636] cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log.

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5]

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended.

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179.

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also [262] in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the [533] deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

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871 177 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults attended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today [191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3% 872 of Taira's population.

346 [871] The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village, where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be- [514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it [533] is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

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preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment.

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody.

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters.

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed.

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known

for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike instrument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Immediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presentations of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious unpleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

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guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to [i.e. the kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 872 876

(mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okinawans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and virtually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigenous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inextricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government initiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becoming a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 525

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177